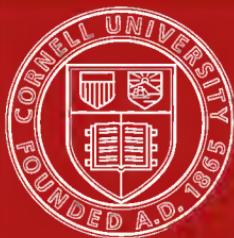


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CONSISTENT ADHERENCE TO DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES.

ADDRESSES

BY

HON. HARRY BINGHAM.

THE FIRST

*As President of the Democratic State Convention,
at Concord, May 20, 1896.*

THE SECOND

*As President of the National Democratic Ratification Meeting,
at Manchester, October 6, 1896.*

WITH AN APPENDIX

*Containing the Democratic Platform, adopted in May, 1896, and the Platform
of the National Democratic Party, adopted at Indianapolis,
September 3, 1896.*

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC STATE COMMITTEE,
OCTOBER 17, 1896.

AG

THE VOICE OF A VETERAN DEMOCRAT.

With the presentation of the addresses, contained in this publication, it has been deemed fitting that they should be prefaced by a brief review of the political career of their distinguished author.

Harry Bingham, a native of Concord, Vt., the son of Hon. Warner Bingham and Lucy (Wheeler) Bingham, born March 30, 1821, a graduate of Dartmouth College in 1843, under the presidency of Nathan Lord, has been engaged in the active prosecution of the profession of law, at Littleton, since the year 1846.

In all this period he has been actively identified with the Democratic organization in New Hampshire, and a distinguished exponent of the principles of the party.

From 1846 to the war period he held no public office, and was not a candidate before the people. He was elected to the New Hampshire House of Representatives for Littleton in 1861, and was re-elected in 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1868, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1881, 1889, 1891, and was candidate for speaker in 1862. He was a state senator, for the Grafton district, two terms, 1883 to 1887. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1876. He was always a member of the committee on the Judiciary, in the terms of his legislative service, and in 1871 and 1874, the years of Democratic supremacy, he was chairman. In 1867 he was United States Treasury agent, under President Johnson. In 1865 he was the Democratic candidate for congress against James W. Patterson, and in 1867

against Jacob Benton. He was the Democratic candidate for United States senator, in the New Hampshire Legislature, against Aaron H. Cragin in 1870; against Bainbridge Wadleigh in 1872; against Henry W. Blair in 1879; against Austin F. Pike in 1883; against Henry W. Blair in 1885; and against William E. Chandler, both in 1887 and in 1889.

He was named, by Gov. James A. Weston, for chief justice in 1874, but this confirmation was defeated by a Democratic division, the Republican councillor giving the casting vote against the nomination. In 1880 he was tendered an appointment as a justice of the Supreme Court, by Governor Head, but declined. In 1866 he was a delegate to the Philadelphia Peace Convention. In 1868 he attended the National Convention at New York, which nominated Horatio Seymour, on which occasion he acted as proxy for Hon. Josiah Minot of Concord, member of the National Committee, and he was himself at this time chosen the member of that committee for this State, serving in that capacity till 1872. This year he was a delegate to the Baltimore Convention which nominated Horace Greeley. In 1880 he was a delegate to the Cincinnati Convention, which nominated General Hancock, though he was in favor, personally, of the re-nomination of Samuel J. Tilden. In 1884 and 1892 he was a delegate to the Chicago Conventions which nominated President Cleveland.

In all these conventions he was a member of the Committee on Resolutions. In 1864 and 1888 he was on the electoral tickets of his party in this State, and is now re-nominated by the National Democracy, whose nominations for president and vice-president are John M. Palmer and Simon B. Buckner.

These have been years in which he has been conspicuous in bearing the burdens of laborious duty for his party with comparatively none of the compensating emoluments of offi-

cial station. He opened the campaign in 1870, 1872, and 1896, as president of the State Convention, with able and authoritative statements of principle and policy, and in twenty sessions of the New Hampshire legislature he was the exponent of party doctrine and intellectual leader of the Democracy. He was always thoroughly equipped for the severest tests in forensic and parliamentary effort, and neither his courage nor his honesty was ever impugned. He stands at the summit of an honorable life, viewing the momentous issues of the present with a judgment unbiased by personal interest or personal ambition. He has spoken in no uncertain terms as to the present duty of the Democracy. He protests against the abandonment of the creed of the fathers,—against the overturning of the true foundations of Democratic faith. Let us not doubt that the sturdy Democracy of the Granite State, with whom he has stood unmoved for fifty years, will heed the warning which comes from Harry Bingham, will find his words “the words of truth and soberness,” and with voice and votes will follow where he leads the way.

STATE CONVENTION, MAY 20, 1896.

ADDRESS BY HON. HARRY BINGHAM, PRESIDENT.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:

It is with the greatest pleasure that to-day I meet the assembled representatives of the Democracy of New Hampshire. The grand old historical party, the Democratic party, has been resting for a season. Sentinels have slept on their posts, and leaders, perhaps for want of proper watching, have not always been true to their trusts. Dissensions have crept in. The enemy has improved its opportunities, and now, intoxicated with a little temporary success, is filling the land with its vain boastings. It is time for the united Democracy to wake up, uplift its invincible arm, and go forth once more to conquer.

The war is over, and the last lingering efforts of faction to keep alive its animosities have ceased. The negro, having been elevated to citizenship and endowed with civil rights, upon equality with the white race, furnishes no longer food for mischievous and dangerous political agitation. Peace reigns. Constitutional limitations, heedlessly trampled upon in the reckless fury of armed conflict, have been vindicated, and their vitality restored. Tendencies towards the centralization of power in the federal government, by encroaching upon the reserved rights of the states have been arrested. The people are no longer threatened with force bills, and legislation kindred thereto has been repealed. All this has been accomplished by the Democracy of the nation. Through

its united action the perils consequent upon our desperate civil war have been passed, and the country restored to its normal conditions. The political questions that naturally engage the public attention in times of peace are now before us. Those questions are economic and financial questions. It is indispensable in order to secure the prosperity of the country as a whole, and the welfare and happiness of the people individually, that there should be no unjust taxation, and that there should be a safe and reliable currency for the transaction of business. The expenses of the government economically administered, and the satisfaction of the national indebtedness, are the only legitimate grounds for federal taxation. The business man, the salaried man, the wage-earner, and everybody who has occasion to purchase and sell, must have a reliable dollar of steadfast value. Otherwise they are subjected in their daily transactions to financial loss. Tariff taxation is legitimate only for the purpose of raising sufficient revenue to meet the necessary expenses and obligations of the government, and whenever this power is perverted and used so as to extort money from the masses and put it in the pockets of the few, robbery is committed, the general prosperity of the country is paralyzed, the few are made millionaires, but the masses are pinched and impoverished; great interests, the maintenance of which is of vital importance to the national welfare, languish and die out. Our prohibitory tariffs and kindred navigation laws have practically destroyed American shipping, and our flag that once floated on the breezes of every sea, and could be seen in all the ports of the world, is now a rare curiosity in foreign waters. We have ceased to educate our young men to a sailor's life, and the gallant American tars that in former days thronged our ports and manned our ships are gone, and have left no successors behind them. Our government is experiencing infinite difficulty in obtaining seamen sufficient to

handle the few war vessels that have been built as a beginning of a navy, which at last all have come to realize is essential to the national safety.

A just system of taxation and a sound currency must be maintained. With those things made secure there will be national prosperity. All legitimate industries will thrive, the laborer be content, the people happy, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce will progress with equal steps and the country take on a steady growth of everything that goes to build up and make a mighty nation. On the other hand let the currency be debased and fluctuating or let the hard earnings of the people be wrung from them by unjust taxation, in either case misery, discontent, and pinching poverty are sure to come on the masses, while their life-blood is being sucked up by the few who riot amid their country's ruins.

The next National Democratic Convention will have a most solemn and trying duty to perform. Amid the wild vagaries upon economical and financial subjects that to-day are floating loose in the popular mind, a National Democratic platform must be erected, based upon Democratic principles, broad enough so that every true Democrat can stand upon it, plainly expressed, so that but one construction can be given it. Candidates for president and vice-president must be placed on that platform whose political lives and record are an embodiment of the principles therein set forth. There has been and is considerable agitation as to what should be put in that platform on the subjects of the currency and tariff taxation. We find that to-day the selfish few are seeking, as in the past they have always sought, special advantages for themselves at the expense of the great body of the people. The monopolist, manufacturing an article of public necessity and seeking to extort from the consumers thereof more than it is worth, applies to the government for a prohibitory tax on all importations of that article, and, having obtained it, he compels all

consumers to pay for the thing he manufactures just what he pleases to demand, and this kind of legislation is styled by the advocates of monopoly "Protection to American industry." The producers and owners of silver bullion ask the government to enact a law authorizing the free coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of sixteen ounces of silver to one ounce of gold. Such a law if enacted would give the owners of silver bullion for every sixteen dollars' worth of bullion thirty-one dollars in money with the government stamp upon it as such, with which to cheat and defraud the public. The monopolists, whose power to plunder the masses was much curtailed by the passage of the Wilson bill and who are seeking the restoration of McKinleyism and prohibitory tariff taxation, constitute the head and front of the hosts that are clamoring for the nomination of William McKinley as the Republican candidate for president and furnish the war material for the aggressive campaign now carried on in his behalf.

The owners of silver mines and those who will be directly profited by disposing of silver for more than it is worth are the leading, pushing advocates for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one. The McKinleyite and the Free Silverite have a common purpose, both are asking the government to aid them in robbing the people, both abound in specious arguments for seducing the unwary, in unscrupulous promises and corrupt devices to enlist with them those who in that way may be thus enlisted. There is necessity for the watchman on the towers of Democracy to be on the alert now, as much as ever. We must remember that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. Our arch enemies now in this guise and now in that are always seeking to undermine the strongholds of Democracy, encroach upon the rights of the people, and to break up the very foundation of the country's prosperity for the sake of promoting the interests of the few. We may safely calculate that the McKinleyite and the Free Silver-

ite having a common purpose will be found when the final struggle comes, standing together and with their united strength mutually aiding each other to accomplish their respective ends. Already overtures contemplating a combination of their powers have passed between them. There is but one course for the Democracy to pursue and that course is to stand unflinchingly upon their principles. Upon their principles as taught by their great teachers, by Jefferson, Madison, and Jackson and as hitherto acted upon. Circumstances and conditions are always changing, but principles never change. In applying unchanging principles to changing conditions care must be taken that a correct application is made. It is indispensably necessary for a nation's welfare that legislation should so adapt itself to changed conditions that just taxation and a safe and reliable currency are always made secure.

The Democracy of New Hampshire have a history of which we may well be proud. It has always presented a fearless front, and marched steadily forward with unbroken ranks, whether crowned with victory or loaded with defeat. Out of its ranks have come men who were illustrious leaders in the great National Democratic party. It can boast that a Langdon, a Woodbury, an Atherton, and a Pierce once trained in its ranks. God forbid that in the approaching presidential campaign any lack of wisdom in counsel or energy in action should cast a shadow on the glorious memories of the past. It is not doubted that the good and true men whom to-day you appoint delegates to the National Democratic Convention will steadily insist upon a platform based upon sound Democratic doctrines. There are indications that unsound and dangerous theories in regard to the currency may be presented and urged in that convention. The enemies of the Democracy are tauntingly proclaiming to the world that we shall be compelled in the National Democratic Convention to adopt a platform favoring the free coinage of silver at the ratio of

sixteen to one. The paralysis of all business, the ruin and bankruptcy that inevitably would follow the enactment of such a proposition into law are so palpable that all sane men who consider would instinctively oppose it. As our country is situated with reference to the great commercial nations of the globe it is only madmen that can deliberately urge the free coinage of silver. The great body of our people are not mad. They never will vote for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one with the disastrous consequences of inaugurating such a measure plain to be foreseen. The incorporation of a free silver plank in the Democratic platform will insure in the coming presidential contest our certain defeat, and not only that but the splendid record of the Democracy will be disgraced, its good name tarnished and the confidence hitherto reposed in it by the people greatly shaken, perhaps lost forever. It is hoped that no such calamity awaits us.

The Democracy ought to triumph in the next presidential election. The welfare of the country demands it, and therefore let no such unwholesome and paralyzing plank as the free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one be inserted in our platform. Let our delegates from New Hampshire, let every other good and true Democrat watch, labor, argue, and pray for a platform based upon the principles of a genuine Democracy. The truth is mighty and if uttered with zeal and wisdom must conquer. It is believed that if all sincere and level-headed Democrats with conciliation and firmness strive earnestly with our misguided brethren in the convention they will prevail, and the platform will be all right, and on it will be placed a candidate who will be invincible. In the meantime let our watchword be "a sound and reliable currency and no more McKinleyism."

The questions which are likely to be urged immediately upon the convention and there provoke hot debate relate to the currency and tariff taxation, but there are other questions

to be considered there which demand careful attention ; among them are the questions in regard to our foreign relations. Our country is the leading nation on the western continent and the guardianship of the affairs of that continent is a duty we cannot evade, and which we ought not to try to evade. Our duties are performed, our interests are subserved by promoting the welfare of the lesser republics of America. The many great and magnificent states that have been added to the federal union out of territory fairly acquired under and by Democratic administrations illustrates what the Democratic policy as to territorial acquisition has been in the past. The fruits of that policy are also thereby illustrated. Are there any reasons for a change of that policy? Ought we to refuse a territorial acquisition that is begging to join us, that is desirable for us to have, and if it is accepted by us nobody will thereby be wronged?

Cuba, that beautiful island which lies so near our shores, is the theatre whereon is now raging a warfare carried on with barbarities that would shock a Commanche Indian and make him recoil therefrom. Is the fact that Cuba ought to be a part of the United States, and perhaps some day may be, any good reason why we should turn a deaf ear to the agonizing calls of its gallant, suffering, and outraged people. The requirements of International Law and good faith in the performance of treaties must be duly observed. So, too, the calls of humanity must be heeded and when under the pretence of waging civilized warfare, neutral men, helpless woman and children are barbarously murdered, the hand of the murderer should be arrested and compelled to confine its work to legitimate war. Situated as our country is with Cuba, and its wrongs at our door and before our very eyes, our government should protest against these inhuman butcheries in language not to be misunderstood and if that protest be disregarded then the strong arm should intervene. We cannot do less

than this and preserve our self-respect and be able to ask for ourselves the favorable consideration of the civilized world. Let the plank in the Democratic platform touching our duties and obligations in respect to foreign affairs be grounded on a policy that fully recognizes all our duties and obligations to both the oppressor and the oppressed and at the same time demands for ourselves what is necessary for the preservation of our national self-respect.

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NATIONAL DEMOCRACY.

RATIFICATION MEETING, MANCHESTER, OCTOBER 6, 1896.

“THE PRESENT DUTY OF THE DEMOCRACY.”

ADDRESS BY HON. HARRY BINGHAM.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

Recent events have threatened the great Democratic party of America with absolute annihilation as to everything except the mere name. The late convention of the Democracy, duly called and convened at Chicago, was invaded, stampeded, and controlled by its enemies, and the platform there adopted is in utter violation of Democratic principles as understood and acted upon since the foundation of the federal government; but it is in accordance with the ideas of the Populist, and so framed that it invites the support of the Anarchist, the Nihilist, and every other disorganizing element of society. Candidates were nominated and put upon that platform and pledged to its support. The usurpers dominating that convention turned their backs with scorn on Grover Cleveland, the only Democrat who has held the office of president since 1860, and insultingly refused to indorse his administration, although he has honestly and faithfully administered the government in accordance with the platform on which he was elected, the Democratic platform of 1892.

The firm hand with which Grover Cleveland as president has kept faith with the Democracy, upheld, and still upholds, the honor and dignity of this great nation, and will stand out

in bold relief on the pages of the future historian, and his name will not there be dimmed, but will shine brighter by reason of the calumny and abuse that Altgeld and Tillman and kindred vilifiers are now heaping upon him.

In order that Democracy might live, and that Democrats who keep the faith might have a rallying point, another National Democratic Convention has been called and helden at Indianapolis on the second day of September last. That convention adopted a platform and nominated candidates. The platform is a clear, concise, but complete, statement of the fundamental principles of Democracy, and the candidates placed thereon — Gen. John M. Palmer, of Illinois, for president, and Gen. Simon B. Buckner, of Kentucky, for vice-president — are men whose records demonstrate that they are fit exponents of the platform.

We are here to-day to ratify the work of the Indianapolis Convention.

The necessity that demanded what has been done by this convention is obvious.

Without its action there would be now no ticket in the field which a Democrat true to the principles of his party could support. On the one hand would be the ticket and platform presented by the Chicago Convention, with its Byranism, Altgeldism, and Tillmanism masquerading in Democratic uniform, and on the other hand the Republican ticket and platform, with a plank in favor of sound money and a presidential candidate whose views on the financial question may be all right now, but were for a long time in doubt by reason of his antecedents and his silence. Aside from its present position on the money question, the Republican party is and always has been opposed to Jeffersonian Democracy. It is and always has been for high protective tariffs, for force bills, and for despotic measures that centralize power and encroach on the

reserved rights of the states and the people. Democrats, who have drank at the fountain heads of Democracy, and who know and love Democratic principles, can never support either of these tickets. To them the grand candidates nominated at Indianapolis, and the great Democratic truths set forth in the platform there adopted, are most welcome. Standing on that glorious platform they are themselves again. Once more with vigor they can assail McKinley tariffs and the centralizing tendencies of the Republican party, and, at the same time, be free to denounce the heresies of the Chicago platform. Ever since the commencement of the War of the Rebellion, protective tariffs, more or less burdensome, have oppressed the country, and have compelled the masses of our people to pay high for what they bought, while they could sell their products only at a low figure. As a consequence they have been growing poorer and poorer, until selfish and interested persons have been able to persuade them into the belief that cheap money will furnish them the means of paying their debts and restore prosperity to them and the country. It is certain that a large share of the work that has created the conditions which have made this cheap money craze possible, has been done by protective tariffs.

If the presidential candidate of the Chicago Convention be elected, and the financial plank of its platform be carried out, our currency must go at once to a silver basis. Gold will disappear from circulation. We shall be loaded with all the disgrace that can follow the outright repudiation of nearly one half of all our debts, both public and private. Such a radical change must create panics and disorders of infinite magnitude. The state of affairs that will then exist, to be realized must be seen. We shall have no credit abroad, and at home capital will seek a hiding place. Values will be unsettled and constantly fluctuating. Nothing will be certain. Speculation and fraud will be rife, and the honest and unwary will be at the mercy of the shrewd and unscrupulous.

And when at last the shock of the great change has spent itself, and the business elements have settled down and adapted themselves to the new conditions, we shall find ourselves on a silver basis, and side by side with Mexico and China, whilst all the great commercial nations of the world abide by the gold standard, leaving us in our intercourse with them to all the disadvantages which our folly may have brought upon us. The presidential candidate of the Chicago Convention, Mr. Bryan, is now on his travels through the country, scattering his oratory in profusion everywhere. He deals in all the tropes and metaphors known to rhetoric, and is master of the oratorical art. Enraptured with the melodious sounds of his own voice, and the great applause and flattering adulations of the admiring crowds that follow him, he soars on the wings of his imagination high above the dull, prosy regions of cold facts and hard reasoning. The vivid pictures painted by Mr. Bryan's exuberant fancy of the overflowing abundance that will bless this country, if he is elected president, has no counterpart save in fairy tales. With infinite assurance, he makes assertions that cannot be true, unless all the experience of mankind in the past, and our own common sense, are both utterly at fault. For instance, he asserts that with the silver markets of the world overstocked, and the present vast production of silver susceptible of indefinite future augmentation at small cost, with silver demonetized by all the great commercial nations on the globe and by many of the lesser commercial nations, and with Russia and Japan about to demonetize it, the United States government alone, by a simple fiat decreeing the free coinage of silver, can double its values everywhere all over the world and bring it to parity with gold at the ratio of sixteen to one, and that at the same time and by reason of the same fiat, values of labor, of all production, of all commodities, and of every kind of property, will also be doubled.

Nothing like this is recorded as ever having actually occurred in the historic experience of mankind. On the contrary, the history of every age has pages that record the wrecks, disasters, bankruptcy, poverty, and crime, which have been caused by fiat money. It is certainly to be hoped that we are now sufficiently enlightened so that we will heed the warnings of the past and not, with our eyes open, deliberately repeat its follies. The sad experience of France in the destitution and distress occasioned by the Mississippi scheme of John Law, culminating in the year 1720, and in the infinitely greater ruin and suffering brought upon her by the fiat money, called assignats, issued under the leadership of Marat, Danton, and Robespierre, in the wild fury of her bloody revolution, taught her a lesson—yea, burned into her, as it were, with a red-hot iron—a terrible lesson which she has remembered unto this day. As a consequence, France has maintained with great watchfulness ever since, and for nearly a hundred years last past, a sound money currency, and now the masses of her people, her laborers, mechanics, and peasantry, are richer and have more money than the corresponding masses and classes of any other country in the world. We, too, short as has been the period of our national existence, have had lessons on this subject that none of our people who can consider, will ever forget. In the War of Independence our fathers issued fiat money, called at the time Continental bills of credit, and enforced, or attempted to enforce, its circulation by legal-tender and penal enactments. Everything arose to an enormous price. Issue after issue of this money was made, while its credit continued constantly to depreciate, until it took \$500 to pay for a meal of victuals. The whole business was then abandoned, leaving the worthless bills mostly in the hands of the soldiers and the poor. The rich generally took the precaution, while it was yet current, to invest what came to their hands in prop-

erty of permanent value. The wrong, the injustice, and the suffering wrought by Continental money was incalculable. Speaking of it, a close observer, living in those times, says: "Continental money did more than the arts and arms of the enemy towards demoralizing the people and paralyzing every effort of the brave and patriotic." Independence was won after the overthrow of Continental money, and on a specie basis. Our later experience with the legal-tender greenbacks has been a sorry one. Our financial troubles at the present time, and since the War of the Rebellion, can be traced fairly to the legal-tender greenbacks issued under the assumed exigencies of that war. A competent financier after a careful calculation says: "The greenback issue made the cost of the war to the government upwards of a billion of dollars more than it would have been if the finances had remained on a specie basis; and in addition to the loss inflicted on the government, a still greater loss was inflicted on the people. The inflation of the currency caused by the greenback issues inflicted on the people a loss of several billions of dollars, by giving to everything a false value and stimulating speculation, extravagance, and injudicious investments without limit."

But without the aid derived from a study of the past the common sense of every individual ought to be able to reject these absurd statements of what free silver will do if established as the mere dreams of reckless dreamers.

The magical power ascribed to the free coinage of silver by the Silverite sounds in rational ears like the fancy-woven tales of eastern story-tellers, about vast riches and untold treasures showered on favored mortals by beings who do their work outside of, and beyond, the ken of humanity.

The wealth created by Aladdin's lamp was trifling when compared with the immense riches, which, it is alleged, the mere enactment of a few words into law by the United States would create. The idea of the candidate, Bryan, that the

mere fiat of the United States can create instantaneously such a vast addition to the wealth of nations, goes far beyond everything that Munchausen himself ever wrote. One of the stock arguments with which Mr. Bryan maintains the free silver cause, is an appeal to our hereditary reluctance to be domineered over in any respect by England. On the eve of a presidential election stump speakers never forget to stir up the hatred which our people have for English arrogance. If no reason for indignation exists a reason is invented. Mr. Bryan talks so much that he can't wait for an idea to germinate, grow, and mature in his brain before he fires it off. In speeches uttered in that manner it would not be reasonable to expect consistency, sound logic, or accuracy. At one time while urging the immediate adoption of free coinage by this country, he tells us that "England and the gold countries of Europe are longing and praying for free coinage, and are only waiting for us to lead off." At another time, while denouncing those who propose to obtain free coinage by international agreement, he says, "No such agreement can be made,—the men making that proposition are not honest; they know that England and the gold countries of Europe never will agree to the free coinage of silver."

Mr. Bryan, however, seldom ceases to twist the caudal extremity of the British lion. He taunts us with being afraid of England and not daring to remonetize silver without the leave of Lombard street. He tells us that a hundred years ago, our fathers won from Great Britain with the sword, political independence,—that now we are a great, rich, and mighty people, able to have a monetary system of our own, able to bid Great Britain defiance, and tear off the financial shackles that English greed has fastened upon us. He exhorts us to declare our monetary independence and to coin such money and as much of it as we please, and let England help herself if she can. We have whipped her twice and

can do it again. In replying to this argument we must admit that America is a great, rich, and powerful nation; that she already has had two wars with Great Britain with results honorable to her arms, and that if in the providence of God, she finds herself involved again in war with England, we do not doubt that she will do her duty with all the vigor and resolution displayed by our fathers in former wars; but before we engage in a third war with England let us pay her all the debts honestly her due in good money. Although we are a great, rich, and powerful nation there are some things we can't afford.

We can't afford to be mean; we can't afford to incur lasting ignominy and disgrace for the sake of cheating England out of her honest dues by paying her in bad money. Earthly powers and human governments are bounded by limitations outside of which their commands are inoperative. Notwithstanding the might, power, and riches of America, she cannot, by repealing the laws of nature, change the appointed time for sunrise and sunset, nor make something out of nothing. Her fiat ordering either of these things to be done would be inoperative. So, too, her fiat saying to a piece of metal worth fifty cents only, "go forth into the world and wheresoever thou goest let thy value no longer be limited to fifty cents, but henceforth by virtue of thy own intrinsic worth only, be thou of the value of one hundred cents," would be inoperative, and the value of the metal would remain unchanged. It would still be worth fifty cents and no more. Argument addressed to credulity capable of believing that such a fiat could create value would be lost.

Mr. Bryan betrays a self-consciousness that his financial theories are unsound, and that their fallacy will be exposed if submitted to men who have had experience in financial matters. He tells his hearers, after setting forth his financial dogmas, to study the subject (evidently meaning that they

should read Coin's Financial School and kindred works), and to shun all advice from financiers and make up their minds on their own unaided judgment and act accordingly. But he does not content himself with picturing to the popular eye the vast wealth the world will acquire if he is elected president. He travels on more dangerous ground where greater harm may be done. He strives to array class against class, and especially to stir up those who have not, against those who have. Such a strife is irrational and can do no good and may do great injury. Many a rich man of to-day was a poor man of yesterday, and rich men of to-day may be poor to-morrow. We have no aristocracy, no titled classes, and all are equal before the law. We are all, whether rich or poor, common people, and a good dollar is just as good and a bad dollar is just as bad, for one as the other. The talk about one kind of dollar for the poor man and another kind for the rich man is the grossest nonsense, and can mean nothing but mischief. The man that indulges in such talk is no statesman; he is nothing but a demagogue.

But after all it is not the financial plank in the Chicago platform that gives the worst shock to the nerves of the man who desires to see the fundamental safeguards of our institutions unassailed. That platform threatens the independence of the judiciary, the very rock on which our liberties rest. Let the judiciary become subservient to the tyrant's will or to popular clamor, and liberty is lost. That platform denounces the performance by the federal government of its plain constitutional duty to protect the transportation of the mails and to keep open the pathways of interstate commerce. That platform professing to deprecate centralization demands that the federal government shall usurp power and enact a force bill that would trample the rights of the states and the people underfoot, and centralize power to an extent far beyond anything that Republicanism ever dreamed of in its

wildest moods. It demands that the currency be debased and made a legal tender, and that whoever sells a commodity must make his contract for payment in such debased currency. It is evident that the framers of the Chicago platform cared very little about the rights of the people or the powers of the state and federal governments under the constitution. They put into the platform just such planks as were necessary to consummate a permanent alliance and ultimate consolidation with Populism and kindred organizations, and enable them to court the support of all combinations that do not hesitate to use violence to attain their ends, and of all the discontented, unrestful, and desperate, who are held in order only by the restraints of law. Mr. Bryan has attended to the work laid out for him in the platform, and has secured his nomination by the Populists, the middle of the road Populists and the Silver Party. When the majority that dominated the Chicago Convention is judged by the platform they adopted, and the character of their allies and supporters is considered, and when it is realized that the views of that majority, their allies and supporters, are the views of Mr. Bryan, and are the views, which, if he is elected will control the administration of this government for four years, enough and more than enough appears to cause every right minded Democrat to turn with disgust from any idea of supporting a candidate, whose election would inflict upon the country such an administration. If Bryan is elected or if he is not elected there can be no doubt that those who support him will find themselves when this campaign is over in a consolidated party controlled by the principles of the Populists and led by Bryan, Altgeld, and Tillman. It is wholly immaterial what name that party may bear. It can have nothing in common with the Democracy. Populism and Democracy are entirely unlike. Their principles stand out in direct opposition to each other. The Populist demands that the govern-

ment be revolutionized and be made a centralized paternal institution. He demands that the government shall own all the railroads and telegraph lines, advance money on crops, pay his mortgage, and, in short, wipe out his individuality and relieve him from the responsibility of taking care of himself, by caring for him as a father cares for his child.

On the other hand the Democrat demands that the constitution shall be maintained as it is; that there shall not be any centralization of power; that the government shall be administered as Jefferson, Madison, and Jackson administered it; that it shall protect him in the enjoyment of his inalienable rights, his right to life, liberty, and the acquisition of property; that it shall leave him to take care of himself, to stand up in his own individual right as God made him, free, independent, and self-reliant, with full liberty to go and come as he pleases, to pursue happiness along the ways of his choice, and to possess and enjoy the fruits of his labors, always provided that he shall not trespass on his neighbor. The Democrat who is swept along into the consolidated party that the present supporters of Bryan will hereafter form will then find himself no longer a Democrat, but a Populist. Those Democrats of New Hampshire who no longer ago than last May, in a Democratic State Convention duly assembled, joined with perfect accord in declaring allegiance to Democracy and sound money, and who since have changed to the support of Populism and a debased currency, must have seen and learned enough now to make them feel that they are where they do not wish to remain. Such a sudden and radical change in popular sentiment is appalling, and leads to doubt as to the stability of institutions upheld by the popular will. We understand, however, there is a reason for it and that no such unexpected change of attitude in reference to principles where there was no possible chance for a corresponding change in actual belief and conviction could have occurred without a cause.

Honest Democrats indorsed the platform and nominees of the Chicago Convention when its work was first promulgated because they trusted that convention as the regular Democratic body authorized to declare the principles of Democracy and name its candidates; but now, when it is demonstrated that their trust was betrayed, and that if they continue to support the work of that convention they bid good-bye to Democracy and go straight to the Populist camp, they must, as honest Democrats, look elsewhere for Democracy. They cannot go to McKinley, for Democracy is opposed to what he represents. They must go to the work of the Indianapolis Convention. They will find there a Democratic platform, and for candidates they will find Palmer and Buckner, men whose lives and records demonstrate that into their hands the Democracy can commit with safety the great trust of administering this government. Let the present campaign terminate as it may, the Democrat who votes for Palmer and Buckner may be sure that he votes for the men who ought to be elected and that he is helping to form the nucleus around which four years hence the Democratic hosts can rally, and by restoring Democracy to power give to the country once more the blessings of a Democratic administration.

APPENDIX.

The following is the platform adopted, with a ringing chorus of Ayes, by the Democratic State Convention, for this State, held on May 20, 1896:

PLATFORM.

We, the representatives of the Democracy of New Hampshire, in convention assembled, hereby renew our pledges of devotion to the principles of Jefferson and a long line of illustrious Democratic statesmen; and in reference to the vital questions now requiring determination by the people we declare:

First. That, under present conditions there can be but one standard or value, and that every kind of currency should rest upon a gold basis, so long as gold is the standard recognized by the great commercial nations of the world; and we heartily commend the action of President Cleveland in so firmly maintaining our public credit and faith in the face of formidable opposition.

Second. That we favor a system of tariff taxation so adjusted as to produce the necessary revenues to meet the present expenses of an honest government, with the least possible burden upon the people and afford such incidental protection as will meet the requirements of American capital and labor.

Third. That the Monroe Doctrine embodies the idea of national self-defense and should be vigorously maintained.

Fourth. That the civil and religious rights of all our people, as guaranteed them under the constitution, should be sedulously guarded, and no proscription on account of religious opinions should be countenanced or tolerated.

THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT THE CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY AT INDIANAPOLIS, IND., SEPTEMBER 3, 1896.

This convention has assembled to uphold the principles upon which depend the honor and welfare of the American people in order that Democrats throughout the Union may unite their patriotic efforts to avert disaster from their country and ruin from their party. The Democratic party is pledged to equal and exact justice to all men of every creed and condition; to the largest freedom of the individual consistent with good government; to the preservation of the federal government in its constitutional vigor and the support of the states in all their just rights; to economy in the public expenditures; to the maintenance of the public faith and sound money; and it is opposed to paternalism and all class legislation.

The declarations of the Chicago Convention attack individual freedom, the right of private contract, the independence of the judiciary, and the authority of the president to enforce federal laws. They advocate a reckless attempt to increase the price of silver by legislation to the debasement of our monetary standard, and threaten unlimited issues of paper money by the government. They abandon for Republican allies the Democratic cause of tariff reform to court the favor of protectionists to their fiscal heresy.

In view of these and other grave departures from Democratic principles, we cannot support the candidates of that convention, nor be bound by its acts. The Democratic party

has survived many defeats, but could not survive a victory won in behalf of the doctrine and policy proclaimed in its name at Chicago.

The conditions, however, which make possible such utterances from a national convention are a result of class legislation by the Republican party. It still proclaims, as it has for years, the power and duty of the government to raise and maintain prices by law; and it proposes no remedy for existing evils except oppressive and unjust taxation.

THE CONTINUITY OF DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES.

The National Democracy, here convened, therefore renews its declaration of faith in Democratic principles, especially as applicable to the conditions of the times.

Taxation, tariff, excise or direct, is rightfully imposed only for public purposes, and not for private gain. Its amount is justly measured by public expenditures, which should be limited by scrupulous economy. The sum derived by the treasury from tariff and excise levies is affected by the state of trade and volume of consumption. The amount required by the treasury is determined by the appropriations made by congress.

The demand of the Republican party for an increase in tariff taxation has its pretext in the deficiency of revenue, which has its causes in the stagnation of trade and reduced consumption, due entirely to the loss of confidence that has followed the Populist threat of free coinage and the depreciation of our money, and the Republican practice of extravagant appropriations beyond the needs of good government.

We arraign and condemn the Populist Conventions of Chicago and St. Louis for their co-operation with the Republican party in creating these conditions which are pleaded in justification of a heavy increase of the burdens of the people by a further resort to protection.

We therefore denounce protection, and especially free coinage of silver, as schemes for the personal profit of a few at the expense of the masses, and oppose the two parties which stand for these schemes, as hostile to the people of the Republic, whose food and shelter, comfort and prosperity, are attacked by higher taxes and depreciated money.

In fine, we reaffirm the historic Democratic doctrine of tariff for revenue only. We demand that henceforth modern and liberal policies toward American shipping shall take the place of our imitation of the restricted statutes of the eighteenth century which were long ago abandoned by every maritime power but the United States, and which, to the nation's humiliation, have driven American capital and enterprise to the use of alien flags and alien crews, have made the stars and stripes an almost unknown emblem in foreign ports, and have virtually extinguished the race of American seamen. We oppose the pretense that discriminating duties will promote shipping; that scheme is an invitation to commercial warfare upon the United States, un-American in the light of our great commercial treaties, offering no gain whatever to American shipping, while greatly increasing ocean freights on our agricultural and manufactured products.

GOLD AND SILVER IN THE CURRENCY.

The experience of mankind has shown that by reason of its natural qualities, gold is the necessary money of the large affairs of commerce and business, while silver is conveniently adapted to minor transactions, and the most beneficial use of both together can be insured only by the adoption of the former as a standard of monetary measure, and the maintenance of silver at a parity with gold by its limited coinage under suitable safeguards of law. Thus the largest possible employment of both metals is gained, with a value universally accepted throughout the world, which involves the only prac-

tical bimetallic currency assuring the most stable standard, and especially the best and safest money for all who earn a livelihood by labor or the product of husbandry. They cannot suffer when paid in the best money known to man, but are the peculiar and most defenceless victims of a debased and fluctuating currency, which offers continual profits to the money changer at their cost.

Realizing these truths demonstrated by long public inconvenience and loss, the Democratic party in the interests of the masses and of equal justice to all, practically established by the legislation of 1834 and 1853 the gold standard of monetary measurement, and likewise entirely divorced the government from banking and currency issues. To this long-established Democratic policy we adhere, and insist upon the maintenance of the gold standard and of the parity therewith of every dollar issued by the government, and are firmly opposed to the free and unlimited coinage of silver and to the compulsory purchase of silver bullion. But we denounce also the further maintenance of the present costly patchwork system of national paper currency as a constant source of injury and peril.

We assert the necessity of such intelligent currency reform as will confine the government to its legitimate functions, completely separated from the banking business, and afford to all sections of our country a uniform, safe, and elastic bank currency under governmental supervision, measured in volume by the needs of business.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S ADMINISTRATION.

The fidelity, patriotism, and courage with which President Cleveland has fulfilled his great public trust, the high character of his administration, his wisdom and energy in the maintenance of civil order and the enforcement of the laws, its equal regard for the rights of every class and every section,

its firm and dignified conduct of foreign affairs, and its sturdy persistence in upholding the credit and honor of the nation, are fully recognized by the Democratic party, and will secure to him a place in history beside the fathers of the republic.

We also commend the administration for the great progress made in the reform of the public service, and we indorse its efforts to extend the merit system still further. We demand that no backward step be taken, but that the reform be supported and advanced until the undemocratic spoils system of appointments shall be eradicated.

ECONOMY, PEACE, JUSTICE, AND LAW.

We demand strict economy in the appropriations and in the administration of the government.

We favor arbitration for the settlement of international disputes.

We favor a liberal policy of pensions to the deserving soldiers and sailors of the United States.

The Supreme Court of the United States was wisely established by the framers of our constitution as one of the three co-ordinate branches of the government. Its independence and authority to interpret the law of the land without fear or favor must be maintained. We condemn all efforts to degrade that tribunal or impair the confidence and respect which it has deservedly held.

The Democratic party ever has maintained, and ever will maintain, the supremacy of law, the independence of its judicial administration, the inviolability of contract, and the obligations of all good citizens to resist every illegal trust, combination, or attempt against the just rights of property and the good order of society, in which are bound up the peace and happiness of our people.

Believing these principles to be essential to the well-being of the public we submit them to the consideration of the American people.

